

anarchist weekly

Freedom

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The Emperor has no Clothes!

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As if all this wasn't bad enough, very murky things are now coming to light which show these almighty legislators to be unpleasant little self-seekers, devoted to money-grubbing.

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Of course the Government denied the charges and pleaded that their staff was overworked. Which means, in effect, that they can't keep tabs on all the crooks and con-men who infest the boards of most of Britain's big companies.

Among those named in Mr. Lewis's indictment was none other than my Lord Vestey, the millionaire

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Before the Government had time to pull up its trousers after this exposure, another tormentor appeared on the scene—Mr. William Hamilton, the Labour member for West Fife. He accused the Government of encouraging corruption of ordinary MPs by doling out state money to them for all sorts of ridiculous junketings. They were getting money to visit rocket ranges in Australia, to look at employment services in Sweden, to learn foreign languages 'in preparation for the Common Market', and for all sorts of travels to America, to Africa, to Ireland

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Army Crushes Peace Bid

Prisons—Every

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Army Crushes Peace Bid by Soldiers' Wives

IN DEVONPORT, near Plymouth, wives of Royal Marine Commandos who are presently stationed in Northern Ireland started a move to try and make contact with the women of Northern Ireland, with the object of trying to increase understanding and thus reduce the tension which they not unnaturally see as a grave threat to their husbands' lives. They stated that they were willing to go to Ulster to talk with moderate Irish women or to invite them to England. A petition urging support for these aims was circulated and a meeting organised which was attended by 26 wives.

The Army acted quickly. The women were visited by officers' wives and their husbands were interviewed by officers of the regiment.

The *Daily Telegraph* of August 3 quotes Colonel Nigel Frend, CO, 29th Commando Light Regt., Royal Artillery, stationed at Plymouth as saying, 'I have a certificate on my desk from each husband to say his wife has retracted. They were told they would be a laughing stock among the other men. I was very cross when I heard that the Royal Marine wives had been trespassing on MY WIVES' territory.'

He denied that there had been any suggestion made to the wives that if they did not withdraw their names their husbands might find themselves in trouble. The meeting which had been organised broke up after hostile barracking from the wives of some senior NCOs. One of the women was reduced to tears.

Members of Women's Lib. and other freedom lovers living in the vicinity of

Plymouth might well feel moved to call on the Colonel and indicate to him that he is no longer living in the Middle Ages—and that these women are citizens with as much right to circulate petitions and speak their minds as any other citizen. The fact that the Army employs their husbands gives him no right whatever to interfere with their liberty.

These soldiers' wives are speaking up for life, just as the women of Andersonstown tried to do. They, too, were howled down, but they persisted and were largely responsible for the cease-fire, short-lived though it was.

In the hideous and seemingly endless violence in Northern Ireland, the voices calling for peace are small and easily silenced, but they offer the only hope for an end to the killing. They must multiply and prevail against all odds—against the bombers, the bigots and the military commanders. There is no other way.

It may seem a small action in the scheme of things, but to do what these soldiers' wives have done in the oppressive 'pukka' atmosphere of a military establishment took a fair degree of courage. It is to be hoped that they will still manage to join hands with those women in Northern Ireland, who also want peace—and they are many.

Footnote.—*Daily Telegraph*, August 4. 'Londonderry's IRA Provisionals warned people who fraternised with British troops yesterday that certain of them had been "earmarked for retaliatory action" which would begin immediately.'

JANET ALEXANDER.

Prisons—Every

IN VIEW of the number of political prisoners in Britain today it would not be at all surprising if these individuals were to spread some of their ideas about solidarity and political organisation to their fellow prisoners. Indeed, the Home Office would doubtless like to explain away last week's national one-day strike in protest at conditions by prisoners in many of Britain's prisons as yet another Red Plot. Fortunately, the prisoners' action seems of much greater significance, particularly when one remembers the traditionally reactionary views of the prison population. These victims of authority have so often in the past created their own brutal hierarchies—microcosms of the society outside—which hinder the development of solidarity and, thus, serve the interests of the prison authorities. The fact that a sense of solidarity has been created in such a hostile situation is some indication of the widespread frustration felt by prisoners at the pettiness and futility of life inside.

The strike which took the form of refusing to work, sitting down in the exercise yard, etc., was co-ordinated by an organisation called Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners (PROP) which has in recent months given an organised form to what was previously a spontaneous and localised phenomenon. In recent years there has been a number of well-publicised cases where individual prisoners or a small number of prisoners have taken spontaneous action—like climbing onto a roof and refusing to come down—in protest at conditions. Indeed, a man's need to assert his human dignity in an environment which is calculated to rob him of just that must

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And just as the idea of government and the idea of imposed legislation is now becoming discredited so too is the idea of violence. There is a growing aversion to killing and it is born out of the horrors of IRA bombs, out of the brutality of British Army shooting, out of the senseless murders committed by the various liberation groups, out of the obscenities of the Vietnam war, and out of the bestialities that daily appear in the popular press. To be peaceful, to be loving, to do unto others what you would have them do unto you, are sentiments deeply rooted in all men. For too long, for centuries, have these really human sentiments been overlaid with the evil teachings of authority, subservience, patriotism and nationalism. If authoritarians

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make individual protest of a less spectacular nature a permanent feature of prison life. The number of prisoners involved in demonstrations at 27 prisons has been variously reported as 4,000 and 6,000 but even the conservative estimate is very impressive. (The total prison population is around 39,000.)

We have heard over the grapevine that a sit-down of prisoners took place when one of them was struck by a warder. This happened before the PROP strike and is an example of spontaneous action and solidarity.

PROP was organised a few months ago by Dick Pooley who has had 20 years' experience of life inside. Plans for the strike appear to have been spread by word of mouth and also by leaflets left in visitors' waiting rooms. As the strike got under way the Home Office made strenuous efforts to first of all deny that any demonstrations were taking place and, later, to try and minimize reports of the numbers involved. Fortunately, Dick Pooley was able to give extensive figures of the number of prisoners taking action in various prisons to a reporter on a lunchtime BBC radio programme.

Many people who end up in prison have not committed any anti-social act but have merely refused to conform to the norms of behaviour demanded by an authoritarian society. Jack Robinson, one of FREEDOM's editors, is presently in prison for refusing to fill in a census form and refusing to pay the consequent fine. Our comrade Bill Dwyer faces possible imprisonment for possessing

LSD for his personal use and whilst many of us do not share his views on the desirability of drug use we defend his right to live as he chooses without being persecuted by the State.

Of those who have committed anti-social acts we can see the causes in an exploitative society. The working-class thief is an incompetent impersonator of the legalised robbery of the capitalist. The humiliating treatment meted out in prisons underlines the only thing that many working-class youths learn from our State education system: that they are doomed to a life of economic insecurity and the boredom of a mindless job. One of the saddest things about the recurring offender, the 'old lag', is that he often pathetically shares authority's view about his own worthlessness. Those of us who are able to see that our own personal problems spring from the system in which we are forced to live rather than from defects within ourselves have a tremendous advantage in retaining our sanity. Agitation by prisoners on their own behalf is an encouraging sign of a new awareness.

Our society will have reached true responsibility only when we no longer lock men away in cages, when we do away with the sick desire for revenge which is the essence of punishment, and when we all play our parts in our communities and our work-places in helping those who have been harmed by society to again live happy and useful lives. We can make a start by expressing our solidarity with our unfortunate fellows in prison. **The next time prisoners demonstrate inside prison we must demonstrate outside in our thousands.**

TERRY PHILLIPS.

The Story of Bartolomeo Vanzetti

THE STORY OF A PROLETARIAN LIFE by Bartolomeo Vanzetti (published by the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance, c/o Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Avenue, Little Hulton, Lancs., price 7½p).

THIS ACCOUNT of his life by the Italian-American anarchist Vanzetti, judicially murdered with his comrade Sacco on August 23, 1927, was first published by the Sacco-Vanzetti defence committee in Boston in 1924.

Vanzetti wrote, 'My life cannot claim the dignity of an autobiography, nameless in the crowd of nameless ones. I have merely caught and reflected a little of the light from that dynamic thought or ideal which is drawing humanity towards better destinies.'

Apprenticed as a baker, in 1901, the young Vanzetti worked from 7 a.m. till 10 p.m. Ill and exhausted, badly shaken

by a family bereavement, Vanzetti left for the United States.

'I saw the steerage passengers handled by the officials like so many animals. Not a word of kindness, of encouragement, to lighten the burden of fears that rests heavily upon the newly arrived on American shores. Hope, which lured these immigrants to the new land, withers under the touch of harsh officials.'

Vanzetti found a job as a dishwasher. On the tramp, he was befriended by an American farmer who fed him for two weeks—"the first Americans to treat us as human". He found work in Connecticut, among other Italian immigrants, and for a while was happy among friends.

Like so many immigrants he soon became active in the growing US labour movement. 'As a matter of fact, because of my more frequent appearances on the speakers' platform in working class

groups of every kind, it became increasingly difficult to find work anywhere.' As his health began to break again, Vanzetti took up self-employment as a fish seller.

On May 5, 1920, following an armed robbery, Vanzetti—with his friend Sacco—was arrested. There is a glaring similarity here with the arrest and murder of Joe Hill. The ensuing trial was a farce.

'Is not a judge supposed to be impartial? But now I think I know—I must have looked a strange animal to him, being a plain worker, an alien, and a radical to boot. And why was it that all my witnesses, simple people who were anxious to tell the simple truth, were laughed at and disregarded? No credence was given their words because they, too, were merely aliens . . . the testimony of human beings is acceptable, but aliens . . . Pooh!'

Vanzetti finishes his moving story, 'I am, and shall be until the last instant (unless I should discover that I am in error) an anarchist-communist, because I believe that communism is the best human form of social contract, because I know that only with liberty can man arise, become noble and complete.'

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

The Russian Opposition

THE SOVIET UNION may be the world's most totalitarian state, but it is not so monolithic as some of its opponents—and supporters—might suggest. Beneath the façade of 'communist' unity, there has always been considerable opposition.

Following my rather brief report of the emergence of a group calling itself a 'citizens' committee', which had issued a circular exhorting Soviet workers to demonstrate and strike against their government, a correspondent has sent us his observations on a number of earlier dissident groups and organisations within the Soviet Union, which have largely come into existence during and shortly after the last war. As his statement is rather lengthy and, in his own words, 'not fit for publication', I will endeavour to paraphrase his views.

THE TRUE WORKS OF LENIN

During and shortly after the last war, the most dangerous and best-organised anti-Russian Communist opposition was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA), which was largely organised by the 'Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists', or **Banderaists**, as the Communists called them. Our correspondent, like myself, is not concerned with these ultra-nationalist, semi-fascist opponents of the Soviet regime.

The first group mentioned by our correspondent called themselves the 'True Friends of Lenin' or, as our correspondent says, 'The True Works of Lenin Group'. They have, he says, been mentioned on a number of occasions in connection with the great Vorkuta Labour Camp uprising in June, 1953. Though not mentioned by our correspondent, I

absorbed a number of Trotskyists, though in my view this is unlikely as others, who have since left the Soviet Union, claim that over 1,000 'Trotskyists' were shot by the NKVD in Vorkuta within days of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941.

The 'True Works of Lenin' group started off with the argument that the time had come when the workers must 'rebel against their own state'. Our correspondent assumes that they passed through Trotskyism, and were affected by the 'degenerated workers' state' thesis, only to reject it; the fact that they merged with the anarcho-syndicalists, he writes, suggests that they either held the 'bureaucrat collectivist' or 'state capitalist' theory.

THE BLACK CATS

Following both the first and last world wars, large groups of vagrant, and often starving, children roamed over large areas of the Soviet Union. These were the **Betzprisonii**, whom Gorki prophesied would form the basis of a new exploited class, and would contain the seeds of the Soviet Union's destruction. Many of these gangs—a kind of poor man's Mafia—were vowed to secrecy, were engaged in robbery, often shared things equitably amongst themselves, and hated the bureaucracy. Some were called, or called themselves, Black Cats.

The Black Cats did not appear to have any kind of clear-cut theories, though according to our correspondent, they said that the 'union of workers and peasants who had made the Revolution', had now divided into oppressed and privileged classes—which they, of course, opposed. According to our correspondent,

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Urban

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MANY (Published by the
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absorbed a number of Trotskyists, though in my view this is unlikely as others, who have since left the Soviet Union, claim that over 1,000 'Trotskyists' were shot by the NKVD in Vorkuta within days of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941.

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He feels that we should not be too dogmatic as to when class divisions first appeared in Russia. One must analyse a continuing process of the rise of a new elite. For instance, if one accepts that elements of State Capitalism or bureaucratic collectivism were discernible as early as, say, the NEP, or Lenin's reimposition of one-man management, this is not of itself proof that at that time there was a full-blown class society.

But the date that Russia became a class society would seem to be mere academic speculation. Though, writes our correspondent, the fact that the group which I mentioned referred to Russia as being State Capitalist, or becoming so, would seem to indicate 'Maoism rather than anarchism' (I did suggest in my report that they seemed 'vaguely Maoist'); and 'taking the capitalist road' would tie with their peasant orientation.

Whatever the answers are to all these questions, only time will tell. The important factor is that there are people in the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, who are dissenting, who are opposing the regime, who are working for genuine, free, communism—who, whether they are Tolstoyans, Makhnovists, anarchists, or some kind of 'Maoists', are getting their ideas to the people who, perhaps one day, will bring about a (third) Russian Revolution this century. Education, organisation and emancipation are still the watchwords—everywhere!

PETER E. NEWELL.

N.B. Much of the information about the early post-war opposition groups can be found in the writings of a former NKVD-KGB colonel, who defected to the West, named Tokaev. They are listed in Robert Conquest's *The Great Purge*.

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Secretary:
Jeremy Brent,
1A Woodstock Road, Oxford.

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

The next AFBIB will be produced in Sheffield at 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield, 10. Send material to Secretary, Peter Le Mare. Also needs offers of help from Groups to bring out further issues.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Trevor Bavage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

Viva Zapata!

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IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

LIKE MAKHNO, Durruti and Valentin González (El Campesino), Emiliano Zapata was called a bandit.

Harry Dunn, an American journalist who claimed to have known him, referred to Zapata as the greatest bandit the Americas had ever known; Mrs. Leone B. Moats, an American woman who was living in Mexico during the Revolution, said that he was a bandit but an admirable man, and Bamford Parkes, the English historian of Mexico, wrote that Zapata was a picturesque bandit-leader. Ronald Adkin claimed that he was a communist (with a small 'c') who knew nothing of Communism (with a large 'C').

It has been largely left to John Womack, Jr., to put the record straight. In 1968, he wrote *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*. This has been previously reviewed by Jock Stevenson in his FREEDOM pamphlet (No. 3), of the same name, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*. I will say no more except that, while I agree that Womack has done a wonderful job, I feel that he has been a little too 'professional', a little too clinical in his approach. It is

not an easy book to read. One has to concentrate. It is now published by Penguin.*

However, mention should be made of the film *Viva Zapata!*, made by Elia Kazan in 1952. The screenplay is by John Steinbeck, and is largely based on Edmund Pinchon's semi-fictional book, *Zapata The Unconquerable!* It telescopes the Revolution into one dramatic episode. I first saw the film twenty years ago—and thought it brilliant then. Marlon Brando plays Zapata. Womack finds the film subtle, powerful and true. The *Daily Worker* (now *Morning Star*) condemned it as 'romantic anarchism' at the time.

Fortunately, I have been able to get the BBC to show it. Maureen Stevens of the Programme Correspondence section of BBC TV tells me that they have now acquired *Viva Zapata!* It should be shown later in the year, but she cannot say, as yet, exactly when.

Watch out for it!

PETER E. NEWELL.

*Obtainable from Freedom Press.

Urban Guerillas

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THIS COLLECTION of information is one of the few sources in English of the actions of the Red Army Fraction and other activists in Germany. There is a collection of RAF communiques, a detailed chronology and various speeches or articles by RAF members as well, at long last, as an analysis of the RAF in the introduction. Particularly interesting is what the RAF said about themselves. 'The Concept of the Urban Guerrilla' is particularly interesting while Kunze-

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The Emperor's Clothes

Continued from page 1

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But the day of the power men is

Joe McCann LETTER

Dear Editors,

I was rather surprised to read the article by Arthur Moyse depreciating the worth of Joe McCann's sacrifice. May I just point out that although the working classes are divided in Ulster and may not exactly be involved in a united

not yet ended. The capitalist barons may have almost run their course, but waiting in the wings are the communists, the State worshippers, those fanatics of law and order who have crushed every bid for freedom in the areas of the world which they control. Anarchists must bestir themselves for it is not governments they have to change but the hearts of men and women. It may take many years but, if I read the signs correctly, that change is on its way. The antics of Heath, Wilson, Carr, Sir John Donaldson, Maudling and Lord Vestey are, in their own peculiar and disgusting ways, contributing to that change.

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gross exploitation of imperialism. I my-
self cannot support any faction in Ireland
or any specific tactics, but according to
the argument of Moyse the death of
those who fought the German Nazis
would be equally worthless because in
his analysis the German armies would
have been composed of the working
class.

The myth of the working class as a
sacred cow has to be buried once and
for all. We are all just beings each of
us potential workers for a free society.

Freedom, peace and love,

Brighton

A.A.

Leo Tolstoy's

THE SLAVERY OF OUR TIMES

25p (postage 6p)

Printed by Briant Colour
Printing workers at the start
of their occupation of the
factory under workers' con-
trol in June 1972.

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John Lawrence,
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All profits to the Briant
workers

not yet ended. The capitalist barons
may have almost run their course, but
waiting in the wings are the com-
munists, the State worshippers, those
fanatics of law and order who have
crushed every bid for freedom in the
areas of the world which they con-
trol. Anarchists must bestir them-
selves for it is not governments they
have to change but the hearts of
men and women. It may take many
years but, if I read the signs cor-
rectly, that change is on its way.
The antics of Heath, Wilson, Carr,
Sir John Donaldson, Maudling and
Lord Vestey are, in their own pecu-
liar and disgusting ways, contributing
to that change.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

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(2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS (Target for 1972—£1,500)

Amount received
July 26-August 2 £5.88
Previously acknowledged £876.90

TOTAL TO DATE £882.78

Clydebank—A Beggar's Agreement

FOR THE SUM OF £1,150,000 Mr. Wayne Harbin of the Marathon Manufacturing Company of Houston, Texas, has bought the Clydebank shipyard which twelve months ago—as part of the Upper Clyde Shipyards—was occupied by some 7,500 workers who refused to be put on the dole.

Before he finally put his money down Mr. Harbin insisted on two conditions. First, that the British taxpayers should give him financial aid, and second that the unions should give him 'copper-bottomed' guarantees against strikes. Both conditions have been met. The Government has promised him £12 million under what is called the Industry Bill, which means that he is already some £11 million in pocket—and the unions after what is described as 'hard bargaining' have given him a no-strike pledge.

WE WANT TO KNOW

Detailed information about the terms of the labour agreement has been hard to come by, for what reason remains to be seen. However, press reports state that 'both parties agree to be bound by arbitration and to abide by the decision without strikes, stoppages, lock-outs or other industrial tactics'. It seems unlikely that Mr. Harbin would accept such a pledge unless it were backed by cast-iron guarantees. It was stated in the press some months ago that he wanted a £50 penalty per day per worker to discourage strikes. If this is not true, why has it never been denied? Surely the thousands of workers who contributed to maintaining the Clydebank men during the 'work-in' have a right to the full facts.

No guarantees have been given that the present labour force will continue to be employed—only that Harbin will try to 'maximise' employment. He states that he has prospects of work on oil-rigs which will keep the yard busy for about four years. After modernisation the yard is to be operated with complete 'flexibility' of labour, and one can safely assume that Mr. Harbin will not employ one man more than will make his

operation highly profitable. As to wages it seems that skilled men are to receive 90p an hour. There will be production bonuses (oh yes, there are to be productivity deals), overtime payments at time-and-a-half, and twice yearly reviews of the cost of living with, presumably, adjustments in wage rates.

The deal was endorsed by a mass meeting of workers—hardly surprising since they were told that if their agreement was not forthcoming there and then, Mr. Harbin would withdraw altogether as a possible purchaser. It was then signed amid smiles and handshakes by Mr. Harbin and (who else) the communist leader of the 'work-in' Mr. James Reid.

A GOOD BARGAIN?

The only defence a worker has against intolerable exploitation is the right to strike. That is why it was fought for so hard over so many years. It is quite true that no-strike pledges are not unknown in industrial agreements, but they are pretty meaningless when the workers are in a position of strength. At Clydebank this is not the case. These workers are in no position to bargain. They have in fact been reduced to the position of beggars. Harbin can make the no-strike pledge stick because there is mass unemployment in Glasgow—so the workers have no choice but to agree or get out. It would seem that in return for an estimated £2,000 a year the Clydebank workers (those who are not made redundant) have been handed over to Harbin virtually bound hand and foot for the next four years. Reid and the CP have succeeded in creating a 'company union'.

It is tragic that men who had the spirit to occupy the shipyards in defiance of the law should have been reduced to this position—having to surrender the hard-won right to strike in order to achieve the 'right to work'.

The responsibility rests primarily with Reid, Airlie and the Communist Party who deliberately set a course towards finding a capitalist employer, thus turning angry workers into meek supplicants.

It is particularly striking that this should happen at a time when the whole Trade Union movement is up in arms against a Bill which interferes precisely with the right to strike. Even the TUC voted for a one-day general strike to show their opposition.

CHEAP LABOUR IN BRITAIN?

There are other, even more fundamental aspects to this agreement which cause us to oppose it. In the first place, why did Mr. Harbin come to Clydeside? There are more than 5 million unemployed in America right now. Why didn't he get his oil-rigs built there and help reduce that figure? The fact is that he didn't do so because American labour is too dear for him.

The LOWEST paid workers in America, those whom Mr. Nixon considers to be so badly off that he has exempted them from his wage-freeze policy, get 110p an hour. That is 30p MORE than Harbin will pay the most skilled men at Clydebank. It is safe to assume that American shipyard workers get more than double the £2,000 a year Harbin will pay at Clydebank. Workers at General Motors, for example, are right now receiving more than £5,000 a year basic—and they don't have a no-strike pledge!

Mr. Harbin has not fallen for the much televised charm of James Reid, but he has taken what Mr. Reid has offered—a skilled labour force much cheaper than he could get it in his native Texas. His capital leaves America and comes to

Scotland where wages are higher and profits are higher. He will get jobs (at a price) and his counterparts see job security under this lousy system of capitalism. One man under this lousy system is on the dole.

That is one of the slogans 'the right to work'—capitalism will only yield and therefore to live at a level, where and when it can do so, and at the expense of the near-starving masses of the world.

We all have an equal right to a share of the wealth of the world. We will achieve it by different forms of social organisation, mutual aid and not capitalism.

P.S.—Since this agreement there has appeared in the *Workers Press* giving the Reid-Harbin deal, that men can take an annual bonus from workers officially for any loss of employment, *Workers Press* 'Marathon' are coming only 150 workers. They employ 500 by the time they say they will in 18 months' time. Men who are likely to be sacked at Clydebank must live on their own apart from the 2,000 during the long den 'work-in'.

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The management at Arrow, as we shall see, don't care for these qualities of natural leadership; they much prefer organised morons.

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As soon as the other winders learnt of Mr. Khan's sacking they walked out in sympathy, most of these workers were later sacked, and at the time of writing eight of them are still without jobs. Many of these workers fear that they have now been blacklisted by the Courtaulds combine nevertheless they are

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The reason why the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC have come to an agreement so quickly is precisely because they both fear a repeat of what

fore the National Industrial Relations Court.

TOGETHERNESS

If such arbitration and conciliation plans work then the Act will have served its purpose. It will have acted as the 'long stop' as the Government intended. It would have got the so-called 'two sides of industry' together. But such togetherness will not benefit the rank and file trade unionists.

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The reason why the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC have come to an agreement so quickly is precisely because they both fear a repeat of what happened the week before. Trade union leaders and the modern capitalist both agree that it is far better to sort out their differences without the threat of the law and confrontation.

Since the present government came into power the trade union leaders have lost confidence in the Department of Employment's conciliation service. This department has been used by the Government to put pressure on arbitrators to conform to a wage policy for settlements. The TUC has now got a body which is 'independent' of the Government, although it has its blessing.

It will be jointly financed by the TUC and the CBI with a team of arbitrators to help settle major disputes. It hopes to expand and employ a full-time director and staff. Finally they want 'an all-embracing service capable of tackling national and regional disputes'.

The TUC's and the CBI's joint statement stresses the need to settle disputes by voluntary methods. Mr. Feather said: 'We see this service as a means of bringing about settlements without anybody having recourse to the Industrial Relations Act.'

The preamble to their joint statement says that, 'widespread availability of conciliation and arbitration can make an important contribution to the promotion and maintenance of industrial peace'.

Both the TUC and the CBI share a dislike for the Act. The CBI has already told its 10,000 member firms to use the Act only as a 'last resort'. Like the TUC they see that the Act leaves little room for compromise settlements. Used indiscriminately, continual confrontation would ensue. Already the Government is drawing up amendments which will allow them to select which cases go be-

fore the National Industrial Relations Court.

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Clearly both the CBI and the TUC want industrial peace; the CBI so that production is not stopped and profits threatened, the leaders of the trade unions so that they can settle round the table and lead a quiet life. Disputes also disturb their orderly bureaucratic lives during which the members try to assert control and become more militant with their demands.

However the membership of the trade unions were never consulted about this new conciliation service.

Looking at the list of people who are to be asked to operate the service, the TUC and the CBI are taking no chances. Trade union leaders, past and present, who are not renowned for their militancy. One former communist, Will Paynter, a past general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, who went along with the closure of pits and sackings of miners. Another trade union leader, is Joe King, general secretary of the Textile and Allied Workers' Union, who is opposing a campaign in his union for elected shop stewards.

This jobs for the boys service will not benefit the rank and file. It's another way of keeping workers at work and preventing costly interruptions in production. The solidarity shown for the dockers has hastened this class collaboration. Employers, the Government and the TUC have seen what organised labour can do and the prospect frightens them.

Arbitration and conciliation are for wage slaves. Such services cannot be used on workers when they demand and take over their places of work. While we scramble for wages we should reflect on the solidarity which was shown for the dockers. Industrial action was effective and could be directed at the take over of the means of production under workers' control. Then we would not need these services so generously provided for us by the TUC and the CBI.

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Send money and Textile Workers' Fu

Bike Lib. Front Rides ag

BROTHERS AND SISTERS! On Saturday the nineteenth of August, the motor car will suffer a blow. Five groups of revolutionaries and freaks intend to establish five bikeways in inner London.

These bikeways have been drawn up by Pete Hall of Reading University. It has been released to the public for over nine months now. The routes take you through some of the quietest and more pleasant areas of London. There ain't much work involved, the hills don't amount to much.

The five entry points are: NORTH, Chalk Farm tube; SOUTH, south entrance to Battersea Park; WEST, Duke of Bedford's Walk by Holland Park; EAST, St. Paul's Churchyard; CENTRAL,

starts from the Ho (just to screw you u

Each group will th we shall hope to m east of the round the Serpentine bri Gardens. It is hoped be there at 2.30 p stirring yourself earl

The police might we are inviting the we have half an h the ride has gone. T to County Hall by Oxford Street, Regent Trafalgar, Whitehall we intend to establish central London. The

Beggar's Agreement

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We all have an equal right to life and a share of the world's goods but to achieve it we will have to create a different form of society—one based on mutual aid and not cut-throat competition.

MICHAEL JOHNS.

P.S.—Since this article was written there has appeared a very good piece in *Workers Press* giving further details of the Reid-Harbin deal. It states: 'Marathon can take an entire six months bonus from workers who strike unofficially for any length of time.' On employment, *Workers Press* claims that 'Marathon are committed to employing only 150 workers. They say they will employ 500 by the end of September, they say they will have jobs for 2,000 in 18 months' time. Meanwhile 1,000 men who are likely to be fired at Clydebank must live on promises—they are apart from the 2,000 who left the yards during the long demoralising months of "work-in".'

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managers to put down even the mildest opposition to their plans. The textile trade union to which the winders belong has done little or nothing to help the sacked men.

The unions in textiles have a bad record for defending their members. When Bob Lees sent a petition to the National Union of Textile and Allied Workers, protesting at that union's poor performance in dealing with the case of Brian Bamford, the Works Counsellor, who was sacked in similar circumstances to Mr. Khan a year ago by Arrow Mill, he himself was sacked by his mill a few days later, as was his mate who helped with the petition, Dave Collingwood. A month later the assistant president of the Union in Rochdale cheerfully announced that Bob Lees had been blacklisted at every mill in the district.

Last year, when a speed frame operator at Arrow successfully got the management to reduce the excessive speed of some machines, he was sacked soon after. In May 1971, four doffers at the same mill were sacked simply because they were unwilling to accept the management's plan to put them on piecework. These workers were only reinstated after



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Last year, when a speed frame operator at Arrow successfully got the management to reduce the excessive speed of some machines, he was sacked soon after. In May 1971, four doffers at the same mill were sacked simply because they were unwilling to accept the management's plan to put them on piecework. These workers were only reinstated after a mass strike of workers on multi-shift.

Once again the union did nothing.

Is it any wonder that many workers in the mills are now asking if it is worth while being in the union?

At this very moment the officials of the National Union of Textile and Allied Workers, fearing for their jobs, are trying to expel and victimise two local trade unionists—Zafar Khan and Brian Bamford.

If the union continues to victimise these men, and if the sacked winders are not given their jobs back, we are calling upon all those who sympathise with the men concerned and the ideals of free trade unionism to resign from membership of the textile unions.

TRADE UNIONIST.

Send money and support to Victimised Textile Workers' Fund, c/o Freedom Press.

Bike Lib. Front Rides again

BROTHERS AND SISTERS! On Saturday the nineteenth of August, the motor car will suffer a blow. Five groups of revolutionaries and freaks intend to establish five bikeways in inner London.

These bikeways have been drawn up by Pete Hall of Reading University. It has been released to the public for over nine months now. The routes take you through some of the quietest and more pleasant areas of London. There ain't much work involved, the hills don't amount to much.

The five entry points are: NORTH, Chalk Farm tube; SOUTH, south entrance to Battersea Park; WEST, Duke of Bedford's Walk by Holland Park; EAST, St. Paul's Churchyard; CENTRAL,

starts from the Houses of Parliament (just to screw you up).

Each group will then do its round and we shall hope to meet at track junction, east of the round pond, south-west of the Serpentine bridge in Kensington Gardens. It is hoped that everybody will be there at 2.30 prompt. That means stirring yourself early.

The police might be a bit uptight so we are inviting the press along. Then we have half an hour's natter on how the ride has gone. Then we all ride down to County Hall by the traditional route Oxford Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly, Trafalgar, Whitehall to serve notice that we intend to establish five bikeways in central London. Then we split to Batter-

John Ball Wm. Morris £0.95 (10p)
Revolutionary Pamphlets—
Peter Kropotkin
(ed.) Baldwin £1.25 (10p)

Please send foolscap (9" x 4") S.A.E.
if you would like to receive booklists.

Freedom Press

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and distribute
ANARCHY monthly

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	6 issues	\$2.25

sea Park and ride the big dipper, sip coke, and talk revolutionary talk.

We hope to see you there. It's sure going to be a good scene. The more people there are the more publicity (heavies are asked to play it cool). For maps of the routes contact Jerry, c/o 9 Brent Road, Selsdon, CR2 7NS.

LETTERS

Letter from a German Anarcho-Syndicalist

Dear Comrades,

In addition to the two letters concerning the Red Army Fraction (RAF—in the bourgeois press commonly called 'Baader-Meinhof Gang'):

1. The so-called 'Anarchistische Zelle' of J. Lohstötter has never taken part in the daily revolutionary fights in West Germany against the steadily increasing repression, against the open installation of fascist tendencies in the capitalist state here. The arguments of Lohstötter (July 8) are liberal, not revolutionary, ones and play into the hands of the fascist murderer Genscher in Bonn.
2. Some dates regarding the current repression in West Germany:
 - a) **Proletarians.** Some new laws even in addition to the 'Notstandsgesetze' like the law that allows the state to fight against workers on strike with Army, 'Bundesgrenzschutz' (Bundesgrenzschutzgesetz). Special forces of police (with tanks, etc.) are trained to shoot down strikers, e.g. next to the 'Mercedes' factory in Sindelfingen. Some examples: Chimistrike (in Hessen, etc.), 1971: Police made the way free for strike-breakers. 'Bundesgrenzschutz' with tanks, etc., were mobilized and waited just for the call to shoot. Metal workers' strike, 1971: In Berlin, the Mercedes works closed and kept the workers from entering. To prevent them from demonstrating or fighting for their factory, some hundreds of extremely well-trained police stood in the streets nearby.
 - b) **School sector.** Everyone supposed to be in even minimal disaccord with the ruling class and their state is not allowed to become a teacher any more.
 - c) **Prisons.** In the prisons of West Germany the 'Folter' of political prisoners is a fact (see Margit Schiller, etc.). Here have been

arrested more than 100 comrades within one year and a half, e.g. last weekend in Hamburg four anarchists (ages 17-19 years), in Berlin two comrades, etc. The members of the RAF are terrorised by state machinery. Last week: **Hoppe (Hamburg), 10 years' prison sentence!!** [Free Hoppe and all prisoners!!]

There could be mentioned many more indices for the terrorist actions of the 'legal' state.

3. **The RAF.** As it has been mentioned correctly by Albert Meltzer (July 22), the RAF called itself 'Marxist-Leninist', and in fact there are some points within this revolutionary group, some faults that could be derived from this attraction to Marxism-Leninism. The analysis of the situation in the BRD that gave the RAF the proof that it is time to fight in two ways (firstly, basic-groups, political work in factories, revolutionary propaganda, mass movements, etc.; secondly, **direct action** against the increasing suppression of the state, guerilla warfare), is the existence of secret studies in NATO, which say that every country, whose population becomes more revolutionary in attitude, is to be controlled by **military rule** (Greece, 1967; Turkey, 1971; BRD, GB, Italy, ???). In this point the RAF did well. It is now necessary in Western Europe to fight in an urban guerilla war.
4. **Anarchistic guerilla.** The main differences between the anarchist groups and the RAF—concerning guerillas—is that we declare: Guerilla groups are not the leading part of the revolutionary movement or even the working class, but only one part of it like others. The connection between legal and illegal work is necessary. A guerilla only acts in support of the people (e.g. striking workers) not in support of their own group or line.
5. Georg v. Rauch (killed 1971 by state police) as well as Thomas Weisbecker (killed 1972 by state police) were anarchists, members of Black Cross, Berlin, not members of the RAF.

TUBINGEN GROUP.

RAF—Apology and Defence

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minority . . . under (the social revolution) the active and passive great majority and into a system of dictatorship.

And that is what about. Our group, class-struggle and traditional anarchism itself to be centered middle-class people Albert Meltzer. Of an anarchist by over and over again only.

Fraternal

Census—Why not?

This letter was in the Guardian's files

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While right-thinking Guardian will (right state's democratic demands me to admit the of the same offence expect hourly the p

But perhaps my content himself with passing on the al my future employer be.

Yours

Sussex

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Sweet Mary, of

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But for the London busmen the guv'nor's joy was yet to come for on Thursday, July 26, we reported back to work, cheerful and cocky and tolerant of the shamefaced scabs to find that London Transport intended to punish us for our misbehaviour by quoting 'their' rule book to us, the bus workers. Over the years the national press make much of the demand by the employers that after every strike there shall be 'no victimisation' and it is a one way traffic for all it means is that, be a strike won or lost, the scabs shall never be penalised by the returning workers. It works for it is usually a condition of return to work that is accepted and

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The Congress of St. Imier

To commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the CONGRESS OF SAINT-IMIER of the International Association of Workingmen (September 15, 1872), the anarchists of Switzerland invite their comrades to an

OUTING AND PICNIC

on Sunday, September 17, 1972, at Saint-Imier (Swiss Jura, between Bienne and La Chaux-de-Fonds). There will be a sign on the Place du Marché from ten o'clock to mid-day to show the way to the scene of the picnic. In case of rain a shelter will be provided.

Bring something to eat, to drink, to read aloud and also bring some musical instruments. No official entertainments have been organised. Impromptu speakers will be welcome. Comrades coming from a distance will be able to camp.

For all correspondence:

Case postale 44,
1211 GENEVA 6 Eaux Vives,
Switzerland.

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By coincidence (?), the annual report of the Inspector of Explosives, published last week, stated that in 1971 there were more political explosions in Britain (not counting Northern Ireland) than at any time since the previous waves of Irish outrages in 1883 and 1939; most of the important explosions mentioned were those in the Angry Brigade case.

In the meantime the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Group has produced a fourth issue of *Conspiracy Notes* which recapitulates the entire case all the way from the first shooting at the American Embassy in August 1967 right down to the current trial, with a pretty detailed chronology of events and the texts of all the Angry Brigade communiqués (5p from Box 359, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1).

We hope to print a fuller account of the proceedings in the trial as far as the adjournment when it is possible to consult a proper transcript of the evidence—if the police don't seize the tape-recordings first.

CORRESPONDENT.

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1

Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1

RS

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My only advice for Albert is: Use your brain and read what Alexander Berkman once said: 'A conspirative

minority . . . undertaking such a work (the social revolution) must meet with the active and passive opposition of the great majority and therefore degenerate into a system of dictatorship and terror.'

And that is what the whole RAF is about. Our group, being in favour of class-struggle and strictly inclined to the traditional anarchist ideas, will not allow itself to be censured by frustrated middle-class people as represented by Albert Meltzer. One does not become an anarchist by simply repeating it over and over again or by writing books only.

Fraternally yours,
JÜRGEN LOHSTÖTER.

Census— Why not Me?

This letter was sent to us following the Guardian's failure to print it.

Sir,

I was pained (and rather worried) by the news of Mr. Philip Sansom's prison sentence, imposed for failing to complete his census form.

While right-thinking readers of the *Guardian* will (rightly) approve the magistrate's democratic decision, honesty compels me to admit that I, too, was guilty of the same offence as Mr. Sansom, and expect hourly the policeman's knock.

But perhaps my chief constable will content himself with (democratically) passing on the above information to my future employers—whatever they may be.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID MARKHAM
(unemployed actor).

Sussex

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obeyed, but there is always victimisation by the employers against the strikers for the strike by its very nature singles out the militant workers and employers have long memories.

It is the matter of the Rule Book that is the cause of so much black humour for the Rule Book is the employer's Rule Book that he uses to protect himself against legal industrial faults and accidents. In our industrial economy a thousand safeguards are and have to be ignored to maintain the industrial output but should, nay when, the accident arises the employer can always and always will point to a rule within the employer's Rule Book seeking to prove that the workman was at fault. Let the workers demand to work to the employer's Rule Book and the whole of the national press scream of a 'go slow' and old ladies, dealers in Bond Street art galleries and suburban housewives berate, from a distance, the workmen in the wrong, yet universal belief that the workmen are obeying their own dreamy dreamed-up rule book and not the employer's fine print of legal evasions.

Sweet Mary, forgive me if I suggest

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM' Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

100 Years of Libertarian Revolution: A Progress Report. Meeting to commemorate the St. Imier Congress of the First International. Sunday, September 10, 7.30 p.m., at the Centro Iberico (Trinity Church Hall, Holborn—opposite Holborn Tube). Libertarian Communist speakers from UK and the Continent. Organised by North London ORA.

'The Fight to Live' by Keith Paton. On Dole, SS, Welfare State, etc. 10p a copy or 9p for over 10. From 102 Newcastle Street, Silverdale, Staffs., ST5 6PL.

'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Other Branch Libertarian Bookshop-Centre, 7 Regent Place, Leamington. **Libertarian Aid Committee** for the Hyde Park '3'. Visiting: Phone 677 1526 (Mrs. Carty). Letters-gifts (must have Prison No.): 110305 M. Callinan, 110281 L. Marcantonio, 110280 Stan Quinn. Donations: Mrs. Callinan, 59 Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.

Commitment. Val & Colin (22 Kitchener Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey, 01-653 6910) setting up farm in N. Wales to grow chemical-free foods and publish results. Any interested 'science qualified' people please contact.

ORA N. London. 113 Cazenove Road, N.16, is no longer contact address. Contact ORA, 68 Chingford Road, E.17.

Roadrunner No. 37 out. Articles on WRI, Helder Camera, Gay Equality. 8p, or £1.25 for 12, or 65p for 6. 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester, 21.

Black and Red Outlook No. 6. Articles on Anti-Recruiting, Rents, Unionism, I.R. Act, Free Education. From A. Portus, 116 Gilda Brook Road, Eccles, Lancs. £1 for 10 issues.

Stoke Newington 8 Trial. Send all aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

to a 12-hour working day. London Transport's reading of their rules means that if any busworker had a 6½- or 7-hour working day job on the week he struck, then London Transport will no longer be bound to the guaranteed working

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The picket lines stood firm for here was a cause and a principle that united the whole of the militant working class and on those picket lines old enmities and internal frictions were forgotten in a heady wave of solidarity that the working class of this country have not experienced since 1926. It was good to stand in the picket line in the early morning when not a bus moved or a wheel turned and to listen to the mouthed messages and the rumours of solidarity throughout London. In ones and twos the early morning bus crews came to report for duty and obeyed the picket line and small groups of strikers built up outside the garage. It was then that the scabs began to arrive taking courage in rhetoric as they demanded a legal ruling on the need to strike and always asking, of the air, why they should lose a day's pay because of some imprisoned dockers. But the scabs were but a tiny handful and beyond informing them that they were strike-breaking they were ignored as they blustered less than a handful of buses out of the garage and onto the road.

Now the news was coming through on the radios of the national solidarity of the strike and now was the time for the mild horseplay and the café cups of tea. It was the release of the five dock workers that told the striking working class that they had won for, despite all the legal lies and playing with court orders in and out of the back pockets of the Official Solicitor, we knew that victory was ours and each man and woman standing on a picket line had in their small fashion played their part in this industrial battle against the State's use of its jails to break a major dock strike.

But for the London busmen the guv'nor's joy was yet to come for on Thursday, July 26, we reported back to work, cheerful and cocky and tolerant of the shamefaced scabs to find that London Transport intended to punish us for our misbehaviour by quoting 'their' rule book to us, the bus workers. Over the years the national press make much of the demand by the employers that after every strike there shall be 'no victimisation' and it is a one way traffic for all it means is that, be a strike won or lost, the scabs shall never be penalised by the returning workers. It works for it is usually a condition of return to work that is accepted and

obeyed, but there is always victimisation by the employers against the strikers for the strike by its very nature singles out the militant workers and employers have long memories.

It is the matter of the Rule Book that is the cause of so much black humour for the Rule Book is the employer's Rule Book that he uses to protect himself against legal industrial faults and accidents. In our industrial economy a thousand safeguards are and have to be ignored to maintain the industrial output but should, nay when, the accident arises the employer can always and always will point to a rule within the employer's Rule Book seeking to prove that the workman was at fault. Let the workers demand to work to the employer's Rule Book and the whole of the national press scream of a 'go slow' and old ladies, dealers in Bond Street art galleries and suburban housewives berate, from a distance, the workmen in the wrong, yet universal belief that the workmen are obeying their own dreamy dreamed-up rule book and not the employer's fine print of legal evasions.

Sweet Mary, forgive me if I suggest that London Transport should ever have these thoughts in mind when they drew up their Rule Book and their union agreements with the official TGWU but incorporated within that Rule Book is the right by the employer to pay only time worked for the week should the worker break his working week by not working for one day, nay even for one hour. It is a weapon that London Transport have always kept in reserve and, like the atom bomb, it is a weapon that too many believed would never be used but we Ur ancients with long industrial dispute memories can remember when it was used many years ago. The working men and women of London Transport came out on a one-day strike as part of a national protest over a principle and on this, the first payday after the one-day strike, London Transport are having their revenge for they are only paying the men and women who struck work not only minus one day's pay for the Wednesday, 26th, strike but also for the rest of that payroll working week only actual time worked and, if any dare dispute it, it is there within the rules and paragraphs of the union agreement.

You, little comrade, within the college common room or the quiet office can rightly ask what it means and the answer is as follows. The London busmen have a guaranteed 40-hour five-day working week. In primitive terms this means that we work an eight-hour eighteen-minute day with 40 minutes as a minimum UNPAID meal break. Despite the wild rumours that circulate in Bath and Bournemouth, the rank and file busworkers do not draw up their own bus schedules and a day's work can range from a 6½-hour working day

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to a 12-hour working day. London Transport's reading of their rules means that if any busworker had a 6½- or 7-hour working day job on the week he struck, then London Transport will no longer be bound to the guaranteed working of 40 hours' pay but only pay for ACTUAL time worked on the bus. It is a nasty and vicious little act of revenge and London Transport have this week put it into practice. Workers on the night buses find that they can only claim 26 hours' pay for four nights' work while in one case a bus worker whose job for that week was a straight 5½ hours each day found he had only 21 hours' pay for four days' work.

You follow me little comrade? A 6-hour working day may read well on paper but in the complicated matter of schedule-building it could cover a seven- or eight-hour day with a bus crew standing idle for a couple of hours in the middle of the duty and with the knowledge that the following week that same type of scheduled duty will be spread over 12 hours from seven in the morning till seven at night with 3½ hours' dead time in the middle of the day. But London Transport have decided to be faithful to the letter of their Law and this week we only get paid for ACTUAL time worked on the bus.

Wandsworth Garage came out on another one-day strike against their scabs being allowed to work overtime but the 'no victimisation clause' rings loud and clear in the liberal middle-class press though it does not apply to the thousands of bus workers who struck work for one day. And next time you read of working men and women working to rule, remember it is THE EMPLOYER'S RULE BOOK and is only there as a threat, a weapon and a protection against the employed working class and this week the employers are working to the very rule book that the Tory press condemn the workers for obeying in their own interests.

ARTHUR MOYSE.